

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

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INFO US MISSION NATO 0119

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0088

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS; DISCUSSION WITH
SOVIET DELEGATION MEMBER SHUSTOV,
JUNE 17, 1974

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF U.S. REP'S REPORT OF HIS JUNE 17, 1974
DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET DELEGATION MEMBER SHUSTOV AS
DISTRIBUTED TO AD HOC GROUP ON JUNE 19, 1974.
BEGIN TEXT:

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: U.S. REP HAD BRIEF DISCUSSION
CURRENT STATUS OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIET DELEGA-
TION MEMBER SHUSTOV ON JUNE 17, 1974. THIS MESSAGE
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DESCRIBES MAIN POINTS MADE BY SHUSTOV. END SUMMARY.

2. SHUSTOV SAID THAT HE COULD NOT SEE ANY TECHNICAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WITHDRAWALS AND REDUCTIONS. U.S. REP POINTED OUT THAT, FROM A SUBSTANTIVE AND POLITICAL VIEW-POINT, THE ACCEPTANCE OF A LIMITATION, EVEN INDIRECT, ON THE OVERALL SIZE OF THE LARGEST COMPONENT OF THE ARMED FORCES OF A COUNTRY WAS QUALITATIVELY DIFFERENT AND MORE SERIOUS THAN THE MERE REDEPLOYMENT OF FORCES. SHUSTOV SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE POLITICAL DIFFERENCE AND ALSO UNDERSTOOD THE WESTERN ARGUMENT THAT THE U.S. AND SOVIETS HAD A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO REDUCE FIRST. HE SAID THAT THE EAST DID NOT INTEND TO SINGLE OUT THE FRG BUT THAT THEY DID WANT SOME ASSURANCE THAT FRG REDUCTIONS WOULD FOLLOW U.S. REDUCTIONS.

3. U.S. REP RESPONDED THAT THE REVIEW PROVISION WOULD PROVIDE A DEADLINE AND BOTH SIDES WOULD BE UNDER PRESSURE TO BARGAIN IN GOOD FAITH TO REACH A SECOND AGREEMENT PRIOR TO THE ACCRUAL OF THE RIGHT TO WITHDRAW PURSUANT TO REVIEW. SHUSTOV SAID THAT HE HAD EXPLAINED TO HIS AMBASSADORS HOW A REVIEW PROVISION WOULD OPERATE. HIS EXPLANATION WAS BASED ON HIS KNOWLEDGE OF SUCH PROVISIONS IN OTHER TREATIES IN THE ARMS LIMITATION FIELD. SHUSTOV ADDED THAT IF THE SOVIETS WITHDREW 1,2 OR 3 DIVISIONS THEY COULD NOT AS A PRACTICAL MATTER RETURN THEM EVEN IF THE SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATION WERE UNSUCCESSFUL. THEREFORE, THE REVIEW PROVISION WAS NOT AN EFFECTIVE PROTECTION AGAINST THE RISK THAT THE SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATION COULD HAVE NO OUTCOME.

4. SHUSTOV OBSERVED THEY COULD UNDERSTAND THAT THE FRG MIGHT NOT REDUCE FOR AS MUCH AS TWO YEARS BUT THEY NEEDED TO HAVE A COMMITMENT THAT IT WOULD REDUCE AT LEAST AT THAT TIME.

5. SHUSTOV SAID THAT THE ALLIED SPECIFICATION THAT ONE OF TWO DESIGNATED TANK ARMIES MUST BE REDUCED HAD PROVOKED A BAD REACTION IN MOSCOW. MOSCOW WISHED TO RETAIN THE RIGHT TO DESIGNATE WHICH UNITS WOULD BE WITHDRAWN. IF THEY WITHDREW A NUMBER OF DIVISIONS, THEY

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WOULD DESIGNATE THEM. SHUSTOV SAID THAT THERE WAS NO NEED TO HURRY THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THEY AVOID A DEADLOCK, I.E., MOVE AHEAD AT A STEADY PACE.

6. U.S. REP POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS NOT HELPFUL FOR THE EAST TO CRITICIZE THE ALLIES' ESTIMATES OF TOTAL GROUND FORCES WITHIN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WITHOUT

SPECIFYING AT LEAST IN AN APPROXIMATE MANNER THE AMOUNT BY WHICH THE EAST BELIEVED THE ESTIMATES TO BE IN ERROR. SHUSTOV REPLIED THAT HE REALIZED AN EXCHANGE OF RELEVANT DATA WOULD BE NECESSARY. HE SAID THAT IT SHOULD START WITH AN EXCHANGE OF U.S. AND SOVIET DATA BUT THAT THE TIME HAD NOT YET ARRIVED. HE REFERRED TO HIS EXPERIENCE IN THE LIMITED NUCLEAR TEST BAN NEGOTIATIONS AS EVIDENCE OF THE FACT THAT A PREMATURE DISCUSSION OF DATA WAS A WASTE OF TIME.

7. U.S. REP REPLIED THAT A DATA DISCUSSION WOULD TAKE A SUBSTANTIAL PERIOD OF TIME AND ACCORDINGLY SHOULD NOT BE DEFERRED TOO LONG. SHUSTOV REPLIED THAT HE RECOGNIZED THAT THERE WERE DIFFICULT QUESTIONS INVOLVED. HE REFERRED EXPRESSLY TO THE FLUCTUATION IN STRENGTH LEVELS OF THE SOVIET FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA. HE SAID THAT THE FIRST TIME THAT HE HAD LEARNED THAT THE SOVIET'S SYSTEM OF BULK INDIVIDUAL REPLACEMENTS INVOLVED LARGE FLUCTUATIONS IN TROOP LEVELS WAS WHEN COLONEL KAPITONOV HAD CONFIRMED THIS FACT LAST SPRING TO U.S. DELEGATION OFFICERS.

8. SHUSTOV REFERRED TO THE BREZHNEV JUNE 14TH SPEECH. HE POINTED OUT THAT IT CONTAINED OPTIMISTIC REMARKS ABOUT MBFR WHICH HAD BEEN OVERLOOKED BY THE PRESS. END TEXT. RESOR

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